

Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CCO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 R

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O 020508Z NOV 74 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 241789

EXDIS TOSEC 550

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, XF, IT

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO ROME: SUGGESTED
TALKING POINTS ON MIDDLE EAST

FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

1. SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ON MIDDLE EAST FOR SECRETARY'S
USE IN ROME FOLLOW.

2. ALTHOUGH ITALY'S POSTURE ON THE MIDDLE EAST DISPUTE
BEFORE THE 1973 WAR WAS CONSIDERABLY MORE BALANCED THAN
FRANCE'S, THIS DISTINCTION HAS BEEN DISAPPEARING
OVER PAST YEAR, AS ROME'S ALARM OVER THE OIL PROBLEM
HAS GROWN. ITALY LIKE FRANCE, FOR INSTANCE, VOTED FOR
THE UNGA RESOLUTION INVITING THE PLO TO SPEAK THERE.
YOU MAY WISH TO ADDRESS THE ITALIANS' APPREHENSIONS
BY COVERING FOLLOWING POINTS:

A. THE UNITED STATES REMAINS COMMITTED TO PROMOTING
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A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST

BASED ON SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338.
YOUR TRIP TO THE MIDDLE EAST IS DESIGNED TO WORK OUT HOW
NEGOTIATIONS CAN PROCEED IN THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES
THAT EXIST FOLLOWING THE ARAB SUMMIT CONFERENCE.

B. WE BELIEVE THERE CONTINUES TO BE ROOM FOR PROGRESS
IN A STEP-BY-STEP DIPLOMATIC PROCESS AIMED AT AN OVERALL
SETTLEMENT, IN WHICH THE THORNIEST PROBLEMS, SUCH AS
THE ISSUE OF FINAL BORDERS, AND THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE,
AND JERUSALEM WILL BE TACKLED AT LATER STAGES. THIS
PROCESS HAS PRODUCED TWO IMPORTANT AGREEMENTS SINCE THE
1973 WAR.

C. ALTHOUGH SOME OF THE PUBLIC POSTURES OF THE PARTIES
MAY HAVE HARDENED IN THE COURSE OF 1974, ONE SHOULD
NOT LOSE SIGHT OF THE FACT THAT THE PARTIES CONTINUE
TO DESIRE U.S. MEDIATION. IF WE ARE TO DO SO EFFECTIVELY,
IT IS CRUCIAL THAT THE CONDITIONS FOR PROGRESS BE MAIN-
TAINED.

D. ALTHOUGH YOU ARE NOT IN A POSITION YET TO ASSESS
WHAT HAPPENED IN RABAT, THE RESULTS OF THE RABAT ARAB
SUMMIT CONFERENCE SEEM TO HAVE CREATED A SERIOUS TACTICAL
PROBLEM IN THRUSTING FORWARD THE DIFFICULT PALESTINIAN
ISSUE, WITH WHICH NEITHER ISRAEL NOR THE ARABS ARE YET
READY TO DEAL IN A PRAGMATIC WAY. IF THE PALESTINE
DEBATE AT THE UNGA WERE TO UNDERMINE RESOLUTION 242
AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS, THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS
COULD BE JEOPARDIZED.

E. THESE ARE NOT INTENDED AS ANTI-PALESTINIAN STATE-
MENTS. WE RECOGNIZE THAT ANY DURABLE SETTLEMENT MUST
REFLECT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIANS.
THE ISSUE IS HOW TO REACH THE POINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS
WHERE PALESTINIAN ISSUES CAN BE ADDRESSED.

F. OVER THE PAST YEAR WE HAVE DETECTED IN ISRAEL AND
THE NEIGHBORING ARAB STATES AN APPRECIATION THAT
ANOTHER ARAB-ISRAELI WAR WOULD ONLY MAKE MORE DIFFICULT
THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A FINAL AND JUST SOLUTION IN
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THE MIDDLE EAST AND BECAUSE OF THIS, A DETERMINATION TO
PURSUE THE POLITICAL RATHER THAN THE MILITARY ROUTE,
DESPITE THE GREAT DIFFICULTIES. WE HOPE ALL FRIENDS
OF MIDDLE EASTERN COUNTRIES WILL URGE CONTINUED COMMIT-
MENT TO THE POLITICAL COURSE. ANOTHER WAR WOULD CREATE
SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES FOR US ALL.

G. WE WILL CONTINUE TO PROVIDE OUR GOOD OFFICES TO THE

MIDDLE EAST PARTIES IN PROMOTING NEGOTIATIONS ON A
REALISTIC BASIS, AND WE WILL WEIGH THE VIEWS OF ALL
THE PARTIES TO THE DISPUTE BEFORE DECIDING OUR POSITION
ON THE MOST PROMISING ORDER IN WHICH TO DEAL WITH THE
ISSUES AS WELL AS THE MODALITIES FOR NEGOTIATIONS,
INCLUDING THE QUESTION OF RECONVENING THE GENEVA MIDDLE
EAST PEACE CONFERENCE. INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, MINISTERIAL VISITS, PEACE PLANS, TOSEC 550
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 NOV 1974
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: smithrj
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974STATE241789
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: WSMITH;CFE
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740313-0887
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741176/aaaacmla.tel
Line Count: 122
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: smithrj
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 MAY 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <22 MAY 2002 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <18 MAR 2003 by smithrj>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO ROME: SUGGESTED TALKING POINTS ON MIDDLE EAST
TAGS: PFOR, XF, IT
To: TEHRAN
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005